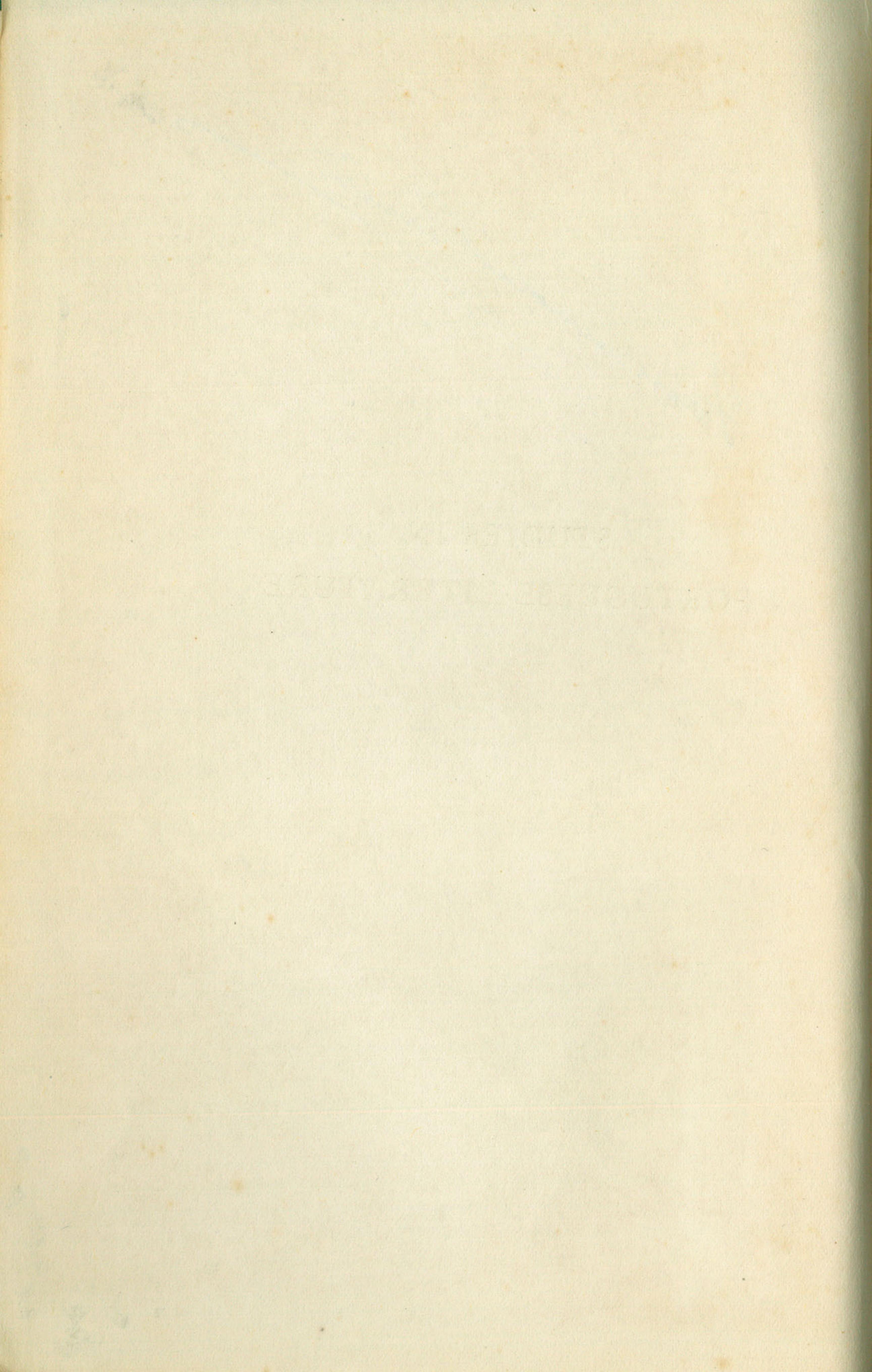


Fernando de Porró

1600



STUDIES IN
PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

LONDON AGENTS
SIMPKIN, MARSHALL & CO., LIMITED

STUDIES IN
PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

BY
AUBREY F. G. BELL

OXFORD
B. H. BLACKWELL, BROAD STREET
1914

PREFACE

NEARLY a century ago it was said of Portuguese literature that it might be compared with “une de ces îles dont les navigateurs ont vu les côtes mais dont on ignore complètement les richesses”—a land of the Hesperides, with the golden apples unreached. Since then much has been done, but it must be confessed that English critics have taken little part in reconnoitring this uncharted country. Yet Portuguese literature repays study, revealing beneath an appearance of dulness much to interest and delight, many noble fruits in its occasionally dreary *charnecas*. The fascinating *cantigas de amigo* of King Diniz, the prose of King Duarte, the lyrical *autos* of Gil Vicente, the exquisite eclogues of the *quinhentistas*, remain all but unknown to English readers.

In Portugal there has been a certain reaction against the neglect and indifference which have allowed so many rare editions and valuable manuscripts to perish. The brunt of the work has been borne by Senhor Theophilo Braga (born in 1843). It is easy to be repelled by those of his writings which deal with literary criticism. They are often without form, honey-combed with repetitions, tasteless and irrelevant political

or other digressions of great length, little pedantries, vague abstractions. But their real merits counterbalance these defects in construction. His books are not works of art, but they are a great motive power, proving and searching the whole domain of Portuguese literature. Unfortunately his method is largely hypothetical, with the result that a single ingenious supposition, subsequently disproved, involves whole chapters in destruction, like a house of cards, the successive editions of his works being a network of corrections and contradictions. But he remains one of the chief figures of contemporary Portugal, after fifty years of persistent labour still working to fill in the gaps, unhappily large, in his *Historia da Litteratura Portugueza*, outlined in thirty-two volumes. It was impossible that he should bring to a satisfactory conclusion so gigantic a task—of poetry, criticism, philosophy, psychology, history, politics; but the work actually accomplished by him is truly marvellous in extent. While one must regret that he has allowed sectarian politics to creep and intrude into works of literary criticism, and may deplore the pompous inanity of his style, one can but admire his very real achievement, his untiring researches and never-failing enthusiasm.

Senhora Dra Michaëlis de Vasconcellos,¹ less ambitious, but working with true scholarship and insight, has accomplished much of definite and lasting value, as, for instance, in her splendid edition of the poems of Sá de Miranda, in her edition of *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*,²

¹ Born in 1851, the daughter of a Berlin Professor, Gustav Michaëlis, she first came to Oporto in the year 1876.

² Two vols., *Halle*, 1904.

in the *Geschichte der Portugiesischen Litteratur*,¹ and in many other important books, articles, editions, etc. She is the best and surest living authority on questions of Portuguese literature. Much, however, remains to be done, and a wide field, of many difficulties but of great fascination, lies open to those who have the necessary time and perseverance. A critical edition of the works of Gil Vicente, an edition of the letters of Dom João de Castro, Viceroy of India, a study of the dates and interrelations of Bernardim Ribeiro, Sá de Miranda, and Christovam Falcão (whose poems are by some attributed in their entirety to Bernardim Ribeiro)—these are but three out of a hundred similar tasks.²

The eclogues of Bernardim Ribeiro (? 1486-1552),³ Christovam Falcão (c. 1512-1557), Sá de Miranda, Dom Manoel de Portugal (1520-1606), Diogo Bernardes (c. 1520-1600), Luis de Camões, Pedro de Andrade Caminha,⁴ Francisco Rodrigues Lobo (c. 1580-1625) are

¹ Gröber, *Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*. Bd. 2. Abtg. 2. Liefg. 2 and 3.

² Especially urgent is the publication of a large number of works still in manuscript.

³ See *Bernardim Ribeiro e o Bucolismo (Christovam Falcão)*. Por Theophilo Braga, Porto, 1897. The exact dates of both poets are very uncertain. Senhor Braga gives Bernardim Ribeiro's as 1482-1552, or possibly 1549. See also *Poesias de Sá de Miranda* (ed. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, 1885), *Notas*, pp. 767-771 and Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos in *Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, pp. 289-295. Bernardim Ribeiro's most famous poem is his *Egloga (Jano e Franco)* in octosyllabic *redondilhas*. There are few more hauntingly beautiful poems in the Portuguese language than his Romance:

“ Pola ribeira de um rio
Que leva as aguas ao mar
Vae o triste de Avalor.”

⁴ Pedro de Andrade Caminha (c. 1520-1589) was a friend of all the great poets of his time, and corresponded with them in verse (Sá de

still too little known outside of Portugal, and deserve a special study. In spite of the traditionally dull and artificial character of this kind of poetry, they reveal a real love of Nature and power of song. The dreamy charm of many regions of Portugal, and the pensive character of the inhabitants, made the eclogues a natural growth; and just as their idyllic character pervades the plays of Gil Vicente, so his piquant characterization, real flavour of the soil, and direct observation of life are to be found in many of the Portuguese eclogues.

Another fascinating study is that of Portuguese prose, in the clearly chiselled sentences of King Duarte, the quaint and various early *Chronicas*, the coloured and picturesque accounts of the conquests beyond the seas, the balanced periods of João de Barros¹' *Decadas*, the fervent letters of the nun of Beja, Marianna Alcoforado, or the *gongorismo* of the seiscentistas. It is difficult to believe that we have the same language,

“A portugueza majestosa lingua,”

in the precise and direct style of Francisco Manuel de Mello's² *Cartas Familiares* and *Dialogos Apologaes*, in

Miranda refers to him affectionately as “el nuestro Andrade”), but his poetry for the most part is inferior to theirs. See *Poesias de Pedro de Andrade Caminha*, mandadas publicar pela Academia Real das Sciencias de Lisboa [from a MS. in the possession of the Duque de Cadaval and another in the Convento da Graça]. *Lisboa*, 1791. A critical edition by J. Priebsch has been published recently at Halle.

¹ 1496-1570.

² A seiscentista (1608-1666) who sought to write with clear simplicity. His life was a stirring one, but he had leisure to improve his style during the long years he spent in prison. To a young relation who was going to the wars he wrote thus, Polonius-fashion: “Ide com Nosso Senhor. Lembrai vos sempre delle e de quem sois. Fallay

the vigour of Dom João de Castro's¹ letters, the plastic, sensuous, glowing prose of Almeida-Garrett, the drier, admirably clear sentences of Alexandre Herculano,² the prose of Eça de Queiroz, at times simple and restrained, at times inflated and extravagant. Of the turgidity, abstractness, and Gallicisms of many modern writers it is unnecessary to speak.³

It may be that the Portuguese genius has but little claim to originality. It willingly looks abroad, and delights in novelties and changes. Even mutable Gothic architecture, for instance, was too rigid for the taste of the Portuguese in the sixteenth century, and they loaded it with Manueline additions. They assimilate quickly, and, once the impulse given from abroad, they clothe their borrowings in native garb. Thus beneath the alternating influence of France and Italy and Spain, and, more recently, of Germany and England, Portuguese poets have shown that they possess a genuine gift of song and a character of their own. Yet something was lost if much was gained when the Portuguese writers of the sixteenth century turned again to imitate foreign models, and the savour of

verdade. Não aporfieis. Perguntai pouco. Jugay menos. Segui os bons; obedecey aos mayores." (Go with Our Lord. Ever remember Him and who you are. Speak the truth. Be not stiff-necked. Ask few questions. Gamble even less. Follow the good; obey your elders.) His celebrated *Guerra de Cataluña* has recently been republished by the *Real Academia Española* from the first edition (*Lisbon, 1645*), with introduction and notes by D. Jacinto Octavio Picón. *Madrid, 1912.* And his Life, written by Mr. Edgar Prestage, is to appear shortly.

¹ Born at Lisbon, 1500; died at Goa, 1548.

² Alexandre Herculano de Carvalho e Araujo, 1810-1877.

³ The chief defects of modern Portuguese are its vague pomposity and its inability to use two words where ten are possible—e.g., “number” becomes *designação numerica*.

Portuguese literature in the fifteenth and first quarter of the sixteenth century was never recaptured. Camões, without doubt, is the greatest poet of Portugal; nevertheless, Portuguese poets of the twentieth century would do well to go back beyond Camões to study the native strains of Gil Vicente and the rough *redondilhas* of Sá de Miranda.

The Portuguese poets through the centuries have sung of love and death—of love without joy, and of death as an object of desire:

“Fratelli a un tempo Amor e Morte
Ingeneró la sorte.”

They might take for their motto a line of a *vilancete* by the Conde do Vimioso¹: *Mil vezes a morte chamo* (*Mil vezes, amor, te chamo*). They have made a national cult of *Saudade*, and the last lines of a recent Portuguese poem tell us that *Saudade* is eternal and will survive the worlds and stars.² They forget that not in Paradise and not in Purgatory were said the words:

“Tristi fummo
Nell'aer dolce que dal sol s'allegra.”

Other characteristics of Portuguese literature—a dreamy, often fantastic imagination, a tendency to prolixity and bombast, grotesque satire, and endless digressions—are all aspects of a certain vagueness of outline, an

¹ 1485-1549. He was the father of Dom Manoel de Portugal.

² Teixeira de Pascoaes. *Marânos* (1911):

“E tudo passará. . . . Mas a Saudade
Não passará jamais! e ha de ficar
(Porque ella é o Infinito e a Eternidade)
Sobrevivente aos mundos e ás estrelas.”

absence of vigour and precision, which finds compensation in naturalness and charm. In a word, the Portuguese have more poetical feeling than conscious art, and perhaps for this very reason Portugal has produced an astonishing number of spontaneous perfect lyrics:

“ Fez hūas lirias no som
Que mi sacam o coração.”

The rivers of Portugal—the Mondego, Douro, Tejo *crystallino*, the *doce* Neiva, *brando* Lima, *manso* Leça—all have their poets. The lyric of Francisco de Sá de Menezes,¹ addressed to the River Leça, is inimitable in the easy flow and inevitable grace of its verses :

“ Ó rio Leça,
Como corres manso !
Se eu tiver descanso
Em ti se começa !

“ Sempre sosegados
Vão teus movimentos ;
Não te alteram ventos
Nem tempos mudados.”

(River Leça, still,
Ah, how still thy flow !
Could I rest e'er know
Rest wouldest thou instil !

Calm thy waters move
Ever without fail ;
Thee no winds assail
Nor time's changes prove.)

¹ 1515-1584. The few of his poems that have survived fully confirm the praises of his contemporaries, Antonio Ferreira, Diogo Bernardes, etc. See *Poesias de Sá de Miranda* (ed. C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos, 1885), *Notas*, pp. 749-751.

In the same spirit and with equal beauty of expression Diogo Bernardes, captive in Africa,¹ turns his thoughts to the River Lima, on whose banks was his home :

“ Mas nunca deixará de ser formosa
 No meu atribulado pensamento
 A ribeira do Lima saudosa.
 Não causará em mim esquecimento,
 Inda que tem virtude d'esquecer,
 O seu brando e suave movimento.”

(But ever in my saddened thoughts the banks
 Of Lima shall be fair, for which I long.
 Never in me shall cause forgetfulness
 The soft and gentle motion of its waters,
 Though power it has to help men to forget.)²

Portuguese literature, poor in clear-cut or striking effects, may not attract many readers, but, to those who study it, appears like a fair, humble shepherdess of the *serra*, with all the grace of the scented woods, pleasant streams, and flowered hills of Portugal :

“ A serra é alta, fria e nevosa ;
 Vi venir serrana gentil, graciosa.”

To write its complete history,³ embracing the literature

¹ He was freed, among other Portuguese captives, by Philip II.

² He celebrated the Lima continually (*in O Lyma*), and many years earlier he wrote to Sá de Miranda that his walks were ever along its banks :

“ Agora rio abaixo, rio acima,
 Que vae suavemente murmurando,
 Só me vou pela beira do meu Lima.”

³ The best general sketch of Portuguese literature is to be found in *Geschichte der portugiesischen Litteratur*, von Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos und Theophilo Braga (*Grundriss der romanischen Philologie*). Bd. 2. Abtg. 2 (sold separately); in Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos' article in *La Grande Encyclopédie (Portugal: Littérature)*, or in Mr. Edgar Prestage's article in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

of Galicia, ancient and modern, must be a task occupying many years. Perhaps, however, there is some danger at the present day lest, while learned critics, in a kind of literary spillikins, are skilfully sifting their facts and dates, the general reader may take less and less interest in the literature thus scientifically presented to him, and continue in scarceness. These straggling notes can lay no claim to original research, but may possibly serve as a stepping-stone till the crying need for a more thorough and complete study of Portuguese literature in English is supplied. The name of Mr. Edgar Prestage is well known to English readers. Probably no Englishman has so intimate an acquaintance with Portuguese literature, which he has studied for twenty years. There is, therefore, good reason to hope that he will supply this want and provide English students with the first history of Portuguese literature ever written in English.

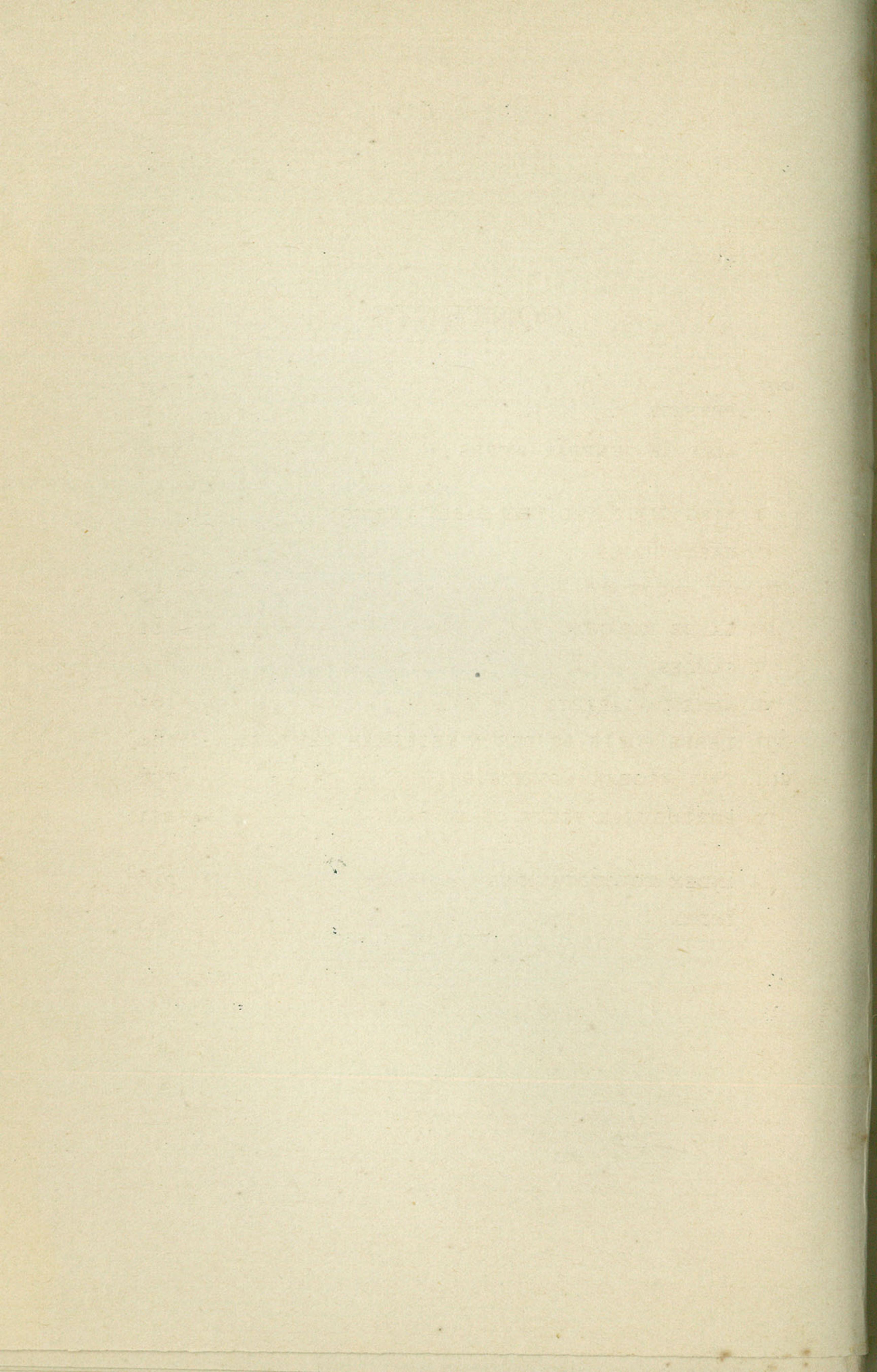
No doubt it will come as a shock to many that Portugal has other subjects of interest to offer besides port-wine, revolutions, and rotative politics. Great indeed would be the reward of these chapters could they help to spread a juster, more sympathetic attitude towards this land of unfailing song, which throughout its history has bred many an

“Homem de braço e saber;”¹

many, that is, capable of carrying through with sword and pen what Sir Peter Wyche in the seventeenth century described as “Performances of the Portuguese, notorious for the Wisdome of the Contrivance and Gallantry of the Execution.”

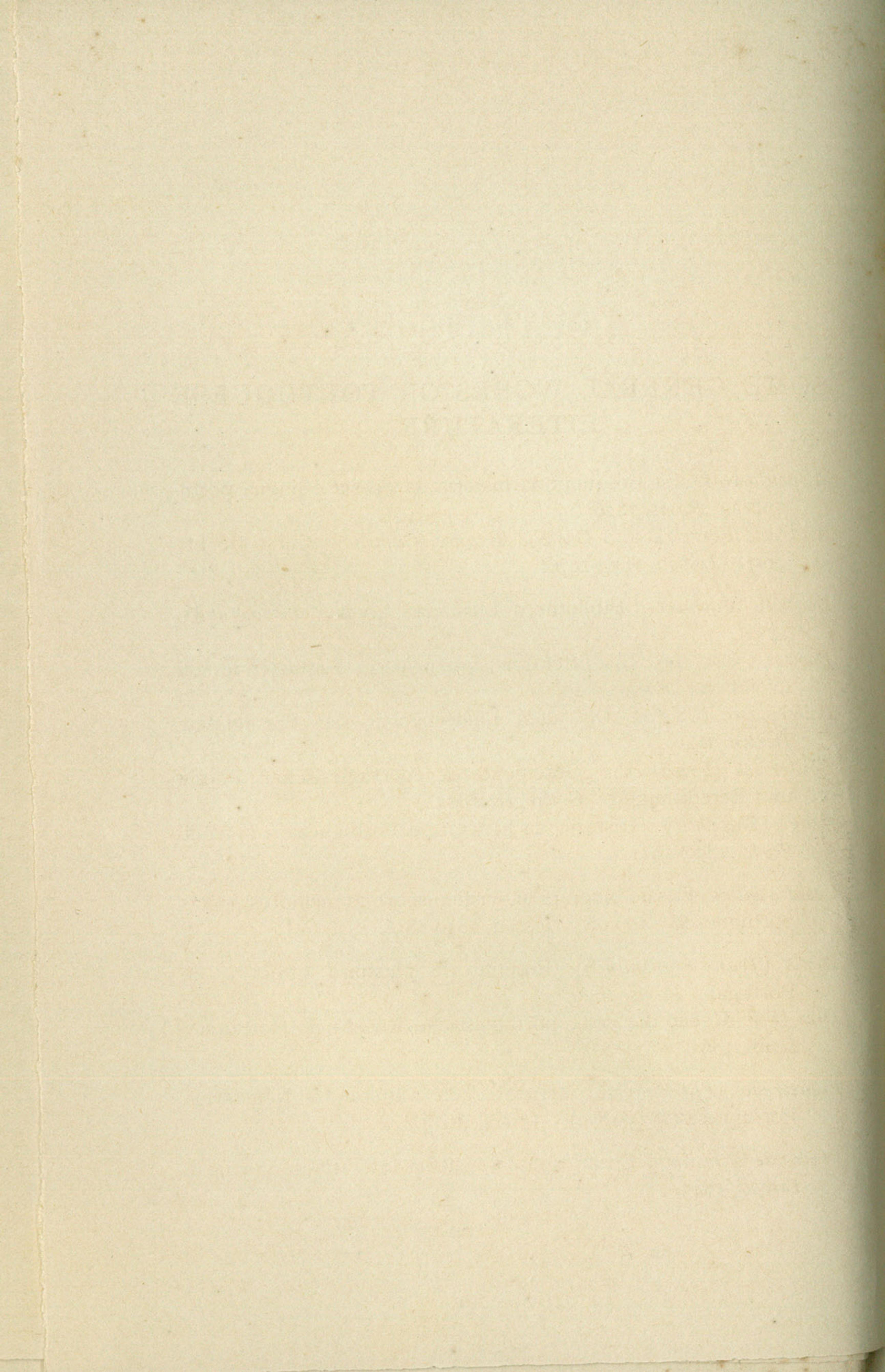
Note.

¹ It is the phrase of Sá de Miranda describing the Spanish poet, the Marqués de Santillana.



CONTENTS

CHAP.		PAGE
PREFACE -	-	V
LIST OF GENERAL WORKS	-	xvii
I. KING DINIZ AND THE EARLY LYRICS	-	I
II. EARLY PROSE	-	40
III. GIL VICENTE	-	55
IV. SÁ DE MIRANDA	-	81
V. CAMÕES	-	114
VI. ALMEIDA-GARRETT	-	162
VII. THREE POETS OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY	-	184
VIII. TWO MODERN NOVELISTS	-	198
IX. PORTUGUESE POETS OF TO-DAY	-	221
INDEX TO QUOTATIONS	-	240
INDEX	-	243



SOME GENERAL WORKS ON PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

- Almeida-Garrett* : *Bosquejo da historia da poesia e lingua portugueza.* *Paris, 1826.*
- Andrade Ferreira and Castello Branco (Camillo)* : *Curso de litt. port.* *Lisboa, 1875-1876.*
- Barbosa Machado* : *Bibliotheca Lusitana.* 4 vols. *Lisboa, 1741-1752.*
- Barros (João de)* : *La littérature portugaise. Esquisse de son évolution.* *Porto, 1910.*
- Bellermann (C. F.)* : *Die alten Liederbücher der Portugiesen.* *Berlin, 1840.*
- Bouterwek (Friedrich)* : *Geschichte der portugiesischen Poesie und Beredsamkeit.* *Göttingen, 1805.*
- Braga (Theophilo)* : *Historia da Litteratura Portugueza.* 14 vols. *Porto, 1870-1911.*
- Costa e Silva* : *Ensaio biographico-critico sobre os melhores poetas portuguezes.* 10 vols. *Lisboa, 1850-1856.*
- Denis (Jean Ferdinand)* : *Résumé de l'histoire littéraire de Portugal.* *Paris, 1826.*
- Diez (F.)* : *Ueber die erste portugiesische Kunst-und Hofpoesie.* *Bonn, 1863.*
- Figueiredo (Fidelino de)* : *Historia da Litteratura Romantica Portuguesa (1825-1870).* *Lisboa, 1913.*
- Freire de Carvalho* : *Ensaio sobre a historia litteraria de Portugal.* *Lisboa, 1845.*

Innocencio da Silva : Diccionario bibliographico portuguez.
Lisboa, 1883, etc.

Lebesque (Philéas) : Le Portugal littéraire d'aujourd'hui. *Paris*, 1904.

Loiseau (A.) : Histoire de la littérature portugaise. *Paris*, 1886.

Michaëlis de Vasconcellos (Carolina) : Geschichte der portugiesischen Litteratur (Grundiss der romanischen Philologie. Bd. 2. Abtg. 2).

— Poesías de Sâ de Miranda (Notes). *Halle*, 1885.

— Article on Portuguese Literature in *La Grande Encyclopédie*.

Pereira da Silva (F. M.) : La littérature portugaise. *Rio de Janeiro*, 1886.

Prestage (Edgar) : Portuguese Literature to the end of the 18th Century. *London*, 1909.

— Portuguese Literature of the 19th Century (in *The Later Nineteenth Century* by George Saintsbury, Chapter VI.). *London*, 1907.

— Article on Portuguese Literature in *Encyclopædia Britannica* (last edition).

Remedios (Mendes dos) : Historia da litteratura portuguesa desde as origenes até a actualidade. 2^a edição. *Coimbra*, 1902.

Simões Dias (José) : Curso elementar de litteratura portuguesa. 7^a edição. *Lisboa*, 1892.

Sismondi (F. C. L. S. de) : De la littérature du midi de l'Europe. Tom. 4. *Paris*, 1829.

Storck (W.) : Vida e Obras de Luis de Camões (General Introduction). *Lisboa*, 1897 [1898].

Wolf (F.) : Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur. *Berlin*, 1859.

— Hist. de las lit. castell. y portug. 2 tom. *Madrid*, 1895-96.

See also *Ticknor (G.)* : History of Spanish Literature ; and *Fitzmaurice-Kelly (J.)* : Littérature Espagnole (French translation), second edition, 1913.

CHAPTER I

KING DINIZ AND THE EARLY LYRICS

DURING the second half of the eleventh and first half of the twelfth century Galicia underwent many changes of frontier. In 1065 it extended southward to the river Mondego. In 1093 its boundary advanced momentarily to the Tagus, and Alfonso VI., King of León and Castille, granted Galicia and his daughter Urraca to Raymond, son of the Count of Burgundy. But he further entrusted the government of the region between the rivers Minho and Tagus to the cousin of Raymond, Count Henry, giving him his daughter Tareja (Theresa) in marriage. This region soon became independent, and the son of Henry, Affonso, was proclaimed first King of Portugal in 1140. It was, however, only very slowly that this artificial division between the two countries became a real difference. The language spoken in both remained the same. The ideas of the new Portuguese Court were cosmopolitan rather than national. In 1147 King Affonso Henriques married Mafalda (Mathilda), daughter of Amadeo, Count of

2 STUDIES IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

Savoy, and Senhor Braga thinks that Provençal poetry thus came to Portugal first through Italy, and that it was possibly in the train of Countess Mafalda that arrived Marcabrus, the first Provençal poet to visit Portugal.¹ It is, however, probable that an even earlier connection with Provence had been established through Galicia and Santiago de Compostella. Santiago was a meeting-place of pilgrims from all Europe. Between Galicia and France especially the connection was a close one, facilitated by the fact that the north-western region of the Peninsula was one of the few parts freed from the dominion of the Moors. Nothing could be more natural than that these pilgrims, singing songs on the road, should have introduced some of the forms of Provençal poetry into Galicia, and thence to Portugal. In 1093 Count Henrique went on a pilgrimage² to Santiago, and over and over again in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* we find echoes of similar pilgrimages :

“ Por fazer romaria puz’ en meu coração
A Santiago um dia por fazer oração
E por veer meu amigo logu’ i.”³

¹ *Trovadores galecio-portuguezes.* Por Theophilo Braga. *Porto,* 1871.

² So an old romance tells of Conde Flores :

“ Que vinha da romaria,
Romaria de Santiago,
Santiago de Galiza ”

and the ancient *Linhagem dos Bargançãos* (printed in *Portugaliæ Monumenta Historica*) speaks of the marriage of D. Mendo Alão de Bargança with the daughter of the King of Armenia, “ who was going upon a pilgrimage to Santiago.”

³ C. da Vat., No. 265. The spelling of Portuguese varies so infinitely at different periods, or even in the same period, and to-day

“A Santiagu em rromaria vem
 El Rey, madre, praz-me de coraçom
 Per duas cousas, sse Deus me perdon’,
 Em que tenho que me fez Deus gram bem :
 Cá verey el rey que nunca vi
 Et meu amigo que vem com el hy.”¹

(The King to Santiago presently,
 Mother, in pilgrimage will come, and I
 Am glad at heart, so Heaven pardon me,
 For the two favours Heaven gives me thereby :
 The King, whom I ne’er saw, shall I see, and together
 With the King my love is coming hither.)

Portugal underwent foreign influence in yet another way, for its coast was passed by Crusaders on their way to the Holy Land, and they were frequently driven by stress of weather to take refuge there. Thus, in 1147, a force of thirteen thousand Crusaders from Flanders, Lorraine, Aquitaine and England, who had embarked in two hundred ships at Dartmouth, assisted King Affonso to recapture Lisbon, and some of them settled in the country.

more than ever—e.g., *hymno*, *hino*, *ino* (*hymn*); *cousa* or *coisa* (*thing*)—that in the quotations no uniformity of spelling has been attempted (*cf.*, *um*, *hum*, *hun*, *huma*, *húa*, *uma*, *úa*, for the indefinite article). Wherever two vowels have run into one the acute accent has been used—as *Sá* (for *Saa*) de Miranda—and the circumflex where two syllables have been contracted—*dôr* (*dolor*), *môr* (*maior*), but *fôr* (*flos*). Another apparent inconsistency—the spelling of *Luis* de Camões and *Thomaz* Ribeiro—is due to the fact that, while the latter wrote his name with a *z*, *Luis*, not *Luiz*, appears on the title-page of the first edition of the *Lusiads* (1572) and in contemporary documents. It may be said here that the verse translations throughout are but miserable echoes of the originals. Care has been taken to make them as literal as possible, but if any reader, not knowing Portuguese, judge Portuguese poetry from these translations he will err sadly in his judgment.

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No. 458 (*cf.* Nos. 429, 455, 689).

4 STUDIES IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

It is certain that Galicia and Portugal adopted the Provençal poetry earlier than Castille, although it had first entered the Peninsula in Catalonia and Aragon.¹ Portugal was as yet scarcely a nation. She had no great historical poems and traditions. Spain had her own heroic poems to withstand the Provençal influence, and when singing in softer mood the Spanish poets sang in Galician or Portuguese. The *Cancioneiro* of King Diniz contains many Portuguese poems written by Spaniards, and Alfonso the Learned (1220-1284), in his prose so great a master of Castilian, wrote his *Cantigas de Santa Maria* in Galician (or Portuguese, for there was still but little difference between the two). The Marqués de Santillana (1398-1458), in an often-quoted passage of his letter to Dom Pedro, Constable of Portugal, says that Galicia and Portugal first adopted the poetry of the *arte mayor* and *arte comun*, so much so that not long before his time all poets of Castille, Andalucia or Estremadura, wrote all their works in Galician or Portuguese.² But the fact that it was the Galician-Portuguese imitations of Provençal poetry that thus prevailed for a time in Spain in itself implies

¹ Sancho, second King of Portugal, married a daughter of the Count of Provence and King of Aragon.

² *Colección de poesías castellanas anteriores al siglo XV.* Tom. i. Madrid : Antonio de Sancha, 1779 : "E despues fallaron esta arte que mayor se llama è el arte comun, creo, en los Reynos de Galicia è Portugal ; donde non es de dubdar que el exercicio destas sciencias mas que en ningunas otras regiones u provincias se acostumbró ; en tant grado que non ha mucho tiempo qualesquier decidores è trovadores destas partes, agora fuesen Castellanos, Andaluces ò de la Estremadura todas sus obras componían en lengua Gallega ò Portuguesa. E aun destos es cierto rescebimos los nombres del Arte, asi como Maestria Mayor è menor, encadenados, lexapren è mansobre."

that these Provençal lays were more in harmony with the genius of the Portuguese people than with that of the Spanish, and were with the former far less a passing fashion than with the latter.

Their influence in Portugal lasted on into the sixteenth century, so that Christovam Falcão (first half of sixteenth century) has been called the last echo of the Provençal lute.¹ As to how far the early Portuguese lyrics were entirely artificial and due to Provençal influence, and to what extent they were the outcome of a really national or popular poetry, there has been some difference of opinion. It would appear to admit of no doubt that at the introduction of Provençal poetry an earlier native poetry existed in Portugal, and that this native popular poetry maintained itself when the influence of Provençal song was at its height, and continued (as references to it in Gil Vicente prove) after that influence had waned.

Monaci, in the preface to his edition of the *Cancioneiro* of King Diniz (or *da Vaticana*), distinguishes between the Provençal poetry, which never became national in Portugal, and a "poetry entirely indigenous and truly original," which "the poets of the Dionysian cycle learnt from the lips of the people and borrowed from the people, giving to it the finishing touch of art."² Lang holds that the real debt of Portugal to

¹ "O ultimo ecco de alaude provençal": Epiphanio da Silva in his edition of *Chrisfal*. T. Braga. *Trovadores galecio-portuguezes*: "Em Portugal as condições vitaes da nacionalidade não eram tão profundas, e a poesia dos trovadores conservou-se quasi até o tempo do Cancioneiro de Resende [1516]."

² "I portoghesi accanto alla poesia artistica d'imitazione straniera una altra n' ebbero del tutto indigena e veramente originale. I

6 STUDIES IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

Provençal poetry was that through it the native poetry was encouraged to take a place in literature.¹

M. Alfred Jeanroy, on the other hand, would refuse to derive even the *cantigas de amigo* directly from a popular source. "Si elles sont populaires c'est par le rythme, la simplicité du style, non par la pensée."

"On retrouve en eux à chaque pas les imitateurs de la poésie provençale et française." The themes "paraissent plutôt être l'écho d'une poésie populaire que cette poésie populaire elle-même." And he sums up as follows: "Il nous paraît non pas certain mais probable que la plupart des thèmes populaires que nous offre le chansonnier du Vatican ont passé de France en Portugal et que la poésie portugaise n'a fait que modifier quelques détails sur la façon dont ils ont été traités; on peut être plus affirmatif et dire que l'imitation française y est évidente." He admits, however, that in Portugal this poetry has "traits plus archaïques qu'en aucun autre pays roman" and "personnages

trovatori del ciclo dionisiaco la conobbero dalla bocca del popolo, dal popolo la raccolsero, ritoccandola coi magisteri dell' arte." As to the Provençal-Portuguese poetry: "Sorta per impulso di una moda più que del genio, quella litteratura non giunse ad avere una forza organica sua propria, nè punto compenetrossi colla vita reale da nazione. Per il che, non appena nuove correnti [i.e., Spanish and Italian] prevalsero alla corrente occitanica che l'aveva destata essa repentinamente decadde nè pote guari sopravivere all' ultimo dei suoi protettori [King Diniz]."

¹ *Das Liederbuch des Königs Denis von Portugal, zum ersten mal vollständig herausgegeben und von Einleitung, Anmerkungen und Glossar versehen von Henry R. Lang. Halle a. S., 1894:* "Das wirkliche Verdienst das sich die Provenzalen um Portugal erworben besteht darin dass sie durch ihr Beispiel dieser Volkslyrik die Bahn in die Litteratur brachen und sie ans Licht zogen."

empruntés au peuple.”¹ This was, precisely, the view held by Ferdinand Wolf.²

The *cantigas de amigo* were undoubtedly of native and popular origin. Their simplicity of form and fresh vividness would not easily have been imported by Court poets from abroad. Their musical wailing cries are the echo of the native poetry of Galicia;³ sometimes they have a dirge-like rhythm as in that of Pero da Ponte :

¹ *Les origines de la poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge. Études de littérature française et comparée, suivies de textes inédits.* Par Alfred Jeanroy. Paris, 1889 (pp. 308-338 : “La Poésie française en Portugal”).

² *Studien zur Geschichte der spanischen und portugiesischen Nationalliteratur.* Von Ferdinand Wolf. Berlin, 1859 (IV. : “Zur Geschichte der portugiesischen Literatur im Mittelalter”): “hat sich die portugiesische Poesie aus einem ganz kunstmässigen, in der Fremde wurzelnden Principe entwickelt, bevor noch die heimische Volkspoesie eine hingänglich breite Basis bieten konnte um darauf kunstmässige Werke mit nationalem Typus aufzuführen.” “So erscheint die galisch-portugiesische Hofpoesie nicht nur nach äusserem Zeugnisse sondern auch in Geist, Ton und Form als eine Tochter und Schülerin der provenzalischen.” But he speaks of the *cantigas de amigo* as “sich näher an das Volksmässige anschliessend, in mehr objektiv-naïver Haltung und oft in lebendigdramatischer Form.” See also Friedrich Diez, *Ueber die erste portugiesische Kunst- und Hofpoesie* (Bonn, 1863), and *Die alten Liederbücher der Portugiesen, oder Beiträge zur Geschichte der portugiesischen Poesie vom dreizehnten bis zum Anfang des sechzehnten Jahrhundert, nebst Proben aus Handschriften und alten Drucken herausgegeben von Dr. Christ. Fr. Bellermann.* Berlin, 1840. And especially Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos (*Grundriss der rom. Phil.*, Bd. 2, Abtg. 2, pp. 132, 146-154, 167-203).

³ Similar popular *cantigas de amigo* are said to exist in modern Portugal and in Asturias. Senhor Braga quotes a modern Galician *cantiga de amigo* from Baret’s *Les Troubadours*:

“Donde le dexas al tu buen amigo?
Donde le dexas al tu buen amado?
Ay Juana, cuerpo garrido!
Ay Juana, cuerpo galano!

8 STUDIES IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

“Madre, namorada me leixou
Madre namorada m’ha leixada
Madre namorada me leixou,”¹

with which one may compare the refrain by Pedr’ Anes Solaz :

“Lelia d’outra²
E doy lelia d’outra
Leli, leli par deus le-ly
Lelia d’outra,”³

evidently an ancient dirge, traceable, perhaps, to a time when Basque was the language of the whole Peninsula.⁴

As proof of the existence of a popular poetry in Portugal has been adduced the mention in the

Muerto le dexo á la orilla del rio,
Muerto le dexo á la orilla del vado.
Ay Juana, cuerpo garrido !
Ay Juana, cuerpo galano !” etc.

Theophilo Braga, *Parnaso Portuguez Moderno, precedido de um estudo da poesia moderna portugueza. Lisboa, 1877.* (Part III. : “Os lyricos gallegos.”)

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No. 417.

² Monaci’s edition has, except in one instance, *doura*.

³ *C. da Vat.*, No. 415. Cf. the *leilas* and the Basque *leloaren cantua*. Cf. also Silius Italicus :

“Misit dives Gallæcia pubem
Barbara nunc patriis *ululantem* carmina linguis.”

⁴ *Leila* and *leli leli* may perhaps be connected with the Basque *il* =dead (but cf. *Don Quixote*: “Lelilíes al uso de moros quando entran en las batallas”). Of the early Portuguese indigenous poetry generally (as opposed to the imitations of Provençal) Dr. Wilhelm Storck says that it is “without models and without parallels in the literatures of sister countries, and perhaps a distant and isolated echo of Celtiberian songs that sounded long ago in the Pyrenean hills” (*Life of Camões*, p. 61. Portuguese translation by C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos. *Lisbon, 1897*).

Cascioneiro da Vaticana of a "peasant's song," "*Diz húa cantiga de vilaão*," but to this M. Jeanroy objects that "il est à remarquer qu'une chanson populaire n'est jamais qualifiée ainsi que par des lettrés."¹ It is more significant that Gil Vicente continued in the sixteenth century to place *cantigas de amigo* on the lips of peasants and of humble workers in the towns. But the best proof is the simple structure of these poems, which was not the work of Court poets, however much they may have embroidered upon it. The words and themes, even of the more courtly poems, often preserved a flavour of the soil, as in that by King Diniz, where the *amiga* goes to wash linen:

" Levanta s' a velida
Levanta s' alva
E vay lavar camisas
Em o alto;"²

or that by Joham Soares Coelho which contains the popular proverb:

" Ca diz o vervo: ca non semeou
Milho quem passarinhos reçeou."³

On the other hand the *Senhor* sometimes uses French words, *envya*, *liero* (*léger*), etc.

¹ The *cantiga de vilaão* was stated to have been glossed (*C. da Vat.*, No. 1,043) by Joham de Gaia on the subject of a tailor (the *vilaão*) who had been created a *cavaleyro* by King Diniz. The use of the phrase *cantiga de vilaão* certainly seems here to imply the singing, if not the composition, of *cantigas* by the humbler folk, just as the Lisbon tailor's wife in Gil Vicente sings a *cantiga de amigo*.

² *C. da Vat.*, No. 172.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 284. "The proverb says: He sows no maize who is ever in fear of the birds."

10 STUDIES IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

“ Que trist’ oj’ eu ando, fazo gram razom,
Foy s’ o meu amigo e o meu coraçom,
Donas, *per boa fé*
Alá est hu el é;¹

she looks in a glass :

“ Mas quant’ oj’ eu no meu espelho² vi
Gradesc’ a deus muyt’ e gradesco lh’al
Que m’el fremosa fez;³

she speaks of her *amigo* as “in the King’s house” or
“with the King”:

“ Meu amigo é em cas’ d’el rey,⁴
Foi ss’ o meu amigo a cas’ d’el rey,⁵
Vay meu amigo com el rey morar,⁶
O meu amigo que é com el rey.”⁷

These are clearly Court imitations of the *cantiga de amigo*, but some of those by King Diniz approach much more closely to the simple popular form. Certainly the most fascinating and original of all the early Portuguese lyrics are these *cantigas de amigo*, written for the *Senhor (=senhora)* to speak or rather sing:⁸

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No. 298. By Joham Lopes de Ulhoa.

² “polido

Espelho de aço ou de cristal formoso.”

(Camões, *Lus.*, viii. 87.)

³ *Ibid.*, No. 335. By Pero Gomes Barroso.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 419. By Pero da Ponte.

⁵ *Ibid.*, No. 634. By Joham Ayras of Santiago.

⁶ *Ibid.*, No. 632. By the same.

⁷ *Ibid.*, No. 334. By Pero Gomes Barroso.

⁸ The popular songs from which they were derived would be composed and sung by the women themselves. Latin writers had already noted the songs and improvisations of the women of Galicia.

“Sedia la fremosa seu fuso torcendo,
Sa voz manselinha fremoso dizendo
Cantigas d'amigo.”

(The fair one sat spinning, her soft voice beautifully singing *cantigas de amigo*.)

“Tres moças cantavam d'amor
Mui fremosinhas¹ pastores,
Mui coytadas dos amores ;
E diss' unha mha senhor :
Dized', amigas, comigo
O cantar do meu amigo.”²

(Three maidens were singing of love, very fair shepherdesses, greatly troubled with love; and one of them, my lady, said: Friends, sing with me the song of my friend.)

“Fex hunha cantiga d'amor
Ora meu amigo por mi
Que nunca melhor feyta vi ;
Mays como x' é muy trobador
Fez hūas lirias no som
Que mi sacam o coraçom.”³

(A song of love my friend for me
Has made: ne'er fairer song I saw;
But he, well skilled in poetry,
Verses has made of such beauty
And music that my heart they draw.)

There was great demand for these *cantigas* among the Court ladies, so much so that doubts were some-

¹ *Fremosmhas* (Monaci).

² *C. da Vat.*, No. 867. By Lourenço, *jograv*.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 779. By Juyão [Julian] Bolseyro.

12 STUDIES IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE

times expressed as to whether a *cantiga* was new, or an old one made to serve for the occasion :

“No cantar que diz que fez
Por mi, se o por mi fez.”¹

(In the song he made for me, if for me he made it.)

“Fez meu amigo, amigas, seu cantar
Per boa fé . . .
E húa dona o querria por seu,
Mays sey eu bem porque s' o cantar fez
E o cantar já valrria hunha vez.”²

The first two lines of the *cantigas de amigo* are in a minor key, ending with *i* assonants; the second two end with the broader *a*:

“Digades filha, minha filha velida,
Porque tardastes na fontana fria ?
Os amores ey !
Digades filha, minha filha louçana,
Porque tardastes, na fria fontana ?
Os amores ey !
Tardei, minha madre, na fontana fria,
Cervos do monte a agua volviam.
Os amores ey !
Tardei, minha madre, na fria fontana,
Cervos do monte volviam a agua.
Os amores ey !
Mentis, minha filha, mentis por amigo,
Nunca vi cervo que volvesse rio.
Os amores ey !
Mentis, minha filha, mentis por amado,
Nunca vi cervo que volvess' o alto.³
Os amores ey !”⁴

¹ C. da Vat., No. 819.

² Ibid., No. 361. By Joham de Guilhade.

³ Or possibly *vado*.

⁴ C. da Vat., No. 797. By Pero Meogo.

Tell me, daughter, my daughter fair,
 Why from the cool spring so long were you coming ?
 Alas, I am in love !
 Tell me, daughter, my lovely daughter,
 From the cool spring why so long were you coming ?
 Alas, I am in love !
 Mother, by the cool spring I tarried,
 Deer from the mountain the water were troubling.
 Alas, I am in love !
 I tarried, mother, by the cool spring,
 Deer from the mountain were troubling the water.
 Alas, I am in love !
 'Tis false, oh my daughter ; with loved one you lingered,
 For ne'er saw I deer that would trouble the stream.
 Alas, I am in love !
 'Tis false, oh my daughter ; with your love you dallied,
 For ne'er saw I deer that would trouble the water.
 Alas, I am in love !

“ De que morredes filha, a do corpo velido ?
 Madre, moyro d'amores que mi deu meu amigo,
 Alva¹ e vay liero.
 De que morredes filha, a do corpo louçano
 Madre, moyro d'amores que mi deu meu amado
 Alva e vay liero.”²

“ Dizia la fremosinha³
 Ay deus val !
 Como estou d'amor ferida !
 Ay deus val !

¹ = *Aube*, and so = “ up ” or “ arise.” Cf. the *alvoradas*, *aubades*, dawn songs, of which a delightful example is that by Nuno Fernandez Torneol :

“ Levad' amigo, que dormides as manhanas frias !
 Toda-las aves do mundo d'amor diziam.
 Leda m' and' eu.”

² C. da Vat., No. 170. By King Diniz.

³ *Fremosmha* (Monaci).

Dizia la bem talhada
 Ay deus val !
 Como estou d'amor coytada !
 Ay deus val !
 E como estou d'amor ferida
 Ay deus val !
 Nom vejo o bem que queria ;
 Ay deus val !
 E como estou d'amor coytada
 Ay deus val !
 Nom vejo o que muito amava.
 Ay deus val !”¹

(The fair one was saying—Be with me Heaven !—
 How am I wounded with love !—Be with me Heaven !
 —The lovely one was saying—Be with me Heaven !—
 How am I troubled with love !—Be with me Heaven !
 —And wounded with love—Be with me Heaven !—
 I cannot see the good that I desired ;—Be with me
 Heaven !—Troubled with love—Be with me Heaven !
 —I cannot see that which I greatly loved.—Be with
 me Heaven !)

Thus the same words are repeated in the first and second couplets, to form a kind of wail or litany, rising and falling in the *i* and *a* sounds, the former always coming first.²

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No. 368. By Affonso Sanches.

² Thus in the *cantiga de amigo* in Spanish in Gil Vicente's *Triumpho do Inverno* the following should be the order :

“ Del rosal vengo, mi madre,
 Vengo del rosal.
 A riberas de aquel rio
 Viera estar rosal florido,
 Vengo del rosal.
 A riberas de aquel vado
 Viera estar rosal granado,
 Vengo del rosal.

The first two *cantigas* quoted (Nos. 797 and 170) are, as is frequently the case, in the form of a dialogue between mother and daughter :

“ Of what are you dying, daughter fair ?
Mother, I am dying of love.”

The mother is often represented as hostile :

“ Madre, poys vos desamor avedes
A meu amigo ;¹
Oje quer' eu meu amigo ver
Porque mi diz que o nom ousarey
Veer mha madre ;²
Vos fezestes tod' o vosso poder,
Madr' e senhor, de mi guardar que non
Visse meu amigu' e meu coração ;³
Dizede, madre, porque me metestes
Em tal prison ? . . .
E ssey filha, que vos traz enganada
Con seus cantares que non valem nada. . . .
E sodes vos, filha, de tal linhagen
Que devia vosso servo seer.”⁴

Viera estar rosal florido,
Cogi rosas com suspiro,
Vengo del rosal.
Del rosal vengo, mi madre,
Vengo del rosal.”

(I come from the rose-tree, mother, I come from the rose-tree. By the banks of that stream I saw a rose-tree in flower; I come from the rose-tree. By the banks of that river I saw a red rose-tree; I come from the rose-tree. I saw a rose-tree in flower, and with sighs I plucked the roses; I come from the rose-tree. I come from the rose-tree, mother, I come from the rose-tree.)

¹ C. da Vat., No. 262. By Ayras Caspancho.

² Ibid., No. 284. By Joham Soares Coelho.

³ Ibid., No. 185. By King Diniz.

⁴ Ibid., No. 823. By Pedr' Amigo de Sevilha.

In one the mother says :

“ Filha sey eu que o nom faz
 (Daughter, I know that he loves you not) ;

and the daughter answers :

Madre, creer-vos ey d'al.”¹
 (Mother, in aught else will I believe you.)

Two charming *cantigas* by King Diniz show the mother already won over or being coaxed into consent :

“ Vy-vos, madre, com meu amig' aqui
 Oje falar e ouv' eu gram prazer. . . .
 Ca poys que s' el ledo partiu d'aquem
 Nom pode seer senom por meu bem.
 El pos os seus olhos nos meus enton
 Quando vistes que xi vos espediu,
 E tornou contra vos led' e riu;
 E por end' ey prazer no coraçon.”²

(I saw you, mother, here to-day speaking with my love, and great was my delight. . . . For since he went hence joyfully it cannot but be for my good. And then he fixed his eyes on mine, when he took leave of you, and turned to you gaily and laughed, and therefore I have pleasure in my heart.)

“ Mha³ madre⁴ velyda
 Vou m' a la baylia
 Do amor.

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No. 289. By Joham Soares Coelho.

² *Ibid.*, No. 189.

³ = *Minha*.

⁴ Monaci. Senhor Braga in his edition prints *madr'* é = my mother is fair.

Mha madre loada
 Vou m' a la baylada
 Do amor.
 Vou m' a la baylia
 Que fazem em vila
 Do amor,
 Que fazem em casa
 Do que eu muit' amava
 Do amor."

(Mother, fair mother, I am going to the dance of love.
 Mother, noble mother, I am going to the dance of love.
 I am going to the dance in the town, to the dance in the
 house of my love.)

There is a similar *cantiga* by Stevam Fernandes d'Elvas:

" Madre, chegou meu amig' oj' aqui.
 Novas som, filha, com que me nom praz.
 Por deus, mha madre, gram torto per faz.
 Nom faz, mha filha, ca perdedes hy.
 Mays perderey, madre, se el perder.
 Bem lhe sabedes, mha filha, querer."¹

(Mother, to-day my love came hither.—News this,
 my daughter, that gives me no pleasure.—Mother, 'fore
 Heaven, you do me great wrong!—No, my daughter,
 for this is for your loss.—Greater loss will be mine,
 mother, if I lose my love.—Daughter, you know how to
 love him well.)

And another by Pedro de Veer:

" Vejo-vos, filha, tam de coração
 Chorar tam muyto que ey eu pesar

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No. 684

E venho-vos por esto preguntar
 Que mi digades, se deus vos perdon',
 Porque m' andades tam triste chorando?—
 Nom poss' eu, madre, sempr' andar cantando.—
 Nom vos vej' eu, filha, sempre cantar
 Mays chorar muyt' e com que por en¹
 Algum amigo queredes gram bem.
 E venho-vos por esto preguntar,
 Que me digades, se deus vos perdon',
 Porque m' andades tam triste chorando?—
 Nom poss' eu, madre, sempr' andar cantando.”²

(Daughter, I see you weeping so sorely that I am grieved, and come to ask you to tell me, so Heaven pardon you, why are you thus ever sadly weeping?— Mother, I cannot always be singing.— Daughter, I see you not always singing, but heavily weeping, and it must be that someone there is whom you greatly love. And therefore I come to ask you to tell me, so Heaven pardon you, why are you thus ever sadly weeping?— Mother, I cannot always be singing.)

More rarely the *cantiga* is addressed to a sister:

“Irmãa, o meu amigo
 Que mi quer bem de coração.”³

Or to friends:

“Amigas, que deus vos valha,
 Quando veher meu amigo
 Falade sempr' unhas com outras
 Emquant' el falar comigo,
 Ca muitas cousas diremos
 Que ante vos nom diremos.”⁴

¹ Ed. Th. Braga. Monaci has *cō q p' en*.

² *C. da Vat.*, No. 725.

³ *Ibid.*, No. 266. By Vaasco Gil.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 352. By Joham de Guilhade.

(Friends, Heaven be with you, when my love shall come, ever keep speaking one to another while he speaks with me, for many things shall we say which before you we shall not say.)

Or it is a dialogue between the lover and his love:

“Amigo pois mi dizedes
 Ca mi queredes gram bem
 Quand’ ora vos fordes d’aqueum
 Dizede-me que faredes ?
 Senhor fremosa eu vol-o direy :
 Tornar-m’ ey ced’ ou morrerey.

“Se nostro senhor vos perdon’
 Poys aqui sodes coytado
 Quando fordes alongado
 Por deus que farey entom ?
 Senhor fremosa eu vol-o direy :
 Tornar-m’ ey ced’ ou morrerey.”¹

(Come tell me, love, since now you say
 That you most surely love me well,
 What will you do then, truly tell,
 When from me you are gone away ?—
 Fair lady, I will tell you, I
 Must soon return or else will die.)

Otherwise the lover never speaks, although the following is a close imitation of a *cantiga de amigo*:

“En lixboa sobre lo mar
 Barcas novas mandey lavrar.
 Ay mha senhor velida !
 En lixboa sobre lo lez²

¹ C. da Vat., No. 318. By Mem Rodrigues Tenoyro.

² By some derived from the Arabic. More probably from the Latin *latus* (so *de léz a léz*=from side to side, and the *le* and *les* in French and English place-names). The *Cancioneirinho* reads *ler*.

Barcas novas mandey fazer.
Ay mha senhor velida!"¹

(At Lisbon on the sea I ordered new ships to be built. Alas ! fair lady mine. At Lisbon on the shore I bid them make new ships. Alas ! fair lady mine.)

In these poems, written for her by her lover, the *Senhor* sings of herself as fair, lovely, etc. In the poems more directly copied from the Provençal and sung by the lover, the descriptions are not much more detailed. She is *velida*, *louçãa*, *bem talhada*. Joham de Guilhade speaks of her fair shape (*bem talhada*) and green eyes.² She is the *lume d'estes olhos meus* (light of my eyes);³ in a poem by King Diniz she speaks well and laughs better than any other :

"E falar mui bem e riir melhor
Que outra molher."

And generally the *cantigas* say little. They consist in repeating a sigh of grief or love or hope in slightly different words ; their themes are the conventional love and death :

"E moyr' eu e praz-mi muyto de morrer."⁴

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No 754. By Joham Zorro.

² *Ibid.*, No. 344. Cf. :

" Os olhos verdes que eu vi
Me fazem ora andar asi."

³ *Ibid.*, No. 648.

⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 680. By Pero Darmeia. Payo Gomes Charinho is more sincere :

" Muytos dizem com gram coyta d'amor
Que querriam morrer e que assy
Perderiam coytas, mays eu de mi
Quero dizer verdad' a mha senhor :

“ E tal confort’ ei
 Que aquel dia morrerei
 E perderei coytas d’amor.”

A vague sadness and wistful *saudade* runs through them.
 Even the *serranilhas* have not the clear joy of the
 Spanish *serranillas*. The Portuguese *pastorellas* and
serranilhas, in so far as they were not a growth of the
 soil, were due to French rather than to Castilian
 influence. Some of them are highly artificial, as—

“ Oy oj’ eu húa pastor cantar . . .
 E fazia guirlanda de flores.”¹

“ Unha pastor se queixava
 Muit’ estando noutro dia
 E sigo medes falava
 E chorava e dizia
 Com amor que a forçava :
 Par Deus vi t’em grave dia
 Ai amor !

“ Ela s’estava queixando
 Come molher com gram coita
 E que a pesar des quando
 Nacéra nom fôra doita,
 Porem dizia chorando :
 Tu nom es se nom mha coita²
 Ai amor !

Queria-me-lh’ eu mui gram bem querer
 Mays nom queria por ela morrer
 Com’ outros morrerom e que prol tem.”

(C. da Vat., No. 393.)

¹ *Ibid.*, No. 454. By Ayras Nunes, clérigo.

² *Vãa coita* (Moura).

“Coitas lhe davam amores
 Que nom lh’ eram se nom morte;
 E deitou-s’ant’ ūas flores
 E disse com coita forte:
 Mal ti venha per u fôres
 Ca nom es se nom mha morte
 Ai amor !”¹

(A shepherdess upon a day made moan and spoke with herself and wept and said, distressed with love : Alas ! evil was the day on which I saw thee, love ! And she made moan as one in great grief and in sorest trouble since she was born, therefore she said : Thou art but grief to me, O love ! And love gave her grief and was but death to her, and she threw herself down before some flowers and said in great distress : Sorrow be thine at all times, for to me thou art but death, O love !)

But there are some lighter delightful rustic dance-songs (*bailadas*), as the two following, half *serranalha*, half *cantiga de amigo* :

“ Baylemos nós já todas, todas, ay amigas,
 So aquestas avellaneyras floridas ;
 E quem for velida como nós velidas,
 Se amigo amar,
 So aquestas avellaneyras floridas
 Verrá bayar.

“ Baylemos nós já todas, todas,² ay irmanas,
 So aqueste ramo d'estas avellanas ;
 E quem foi louçana como nós louçanas,
 Se amigo amar,
 So aqueste ramo d'estas avellanas
 Verrá baylar.

¹ Ed. Lang, No. 23. *C. da Vat.*, No. 102.

² Ed. Th. Braga. Monaci has *t̄s*, which may possibly stand for *tres*, “we three.”

“ Por deus, ay amigas, mentr’ al non fazemos
 So aqueste ramo florido baylemos ;
 E quem bem parecer como nos parecemos,
 Se amigo amar,
 So aqueste ramo sol que nós baylemos
 Verrá baylar.”¹

(Friends, together let us dance
 Beneath those flowered hazel-trees,
 And she who’s fair as we are fair
 If in love will join us there,
 Beneath those flowered hazel-trees
 Will join us in the dance.

Together, sisters, let us dance
 Beneath this branch of the hazel-trees,

¹ C. da Vat., No. 462. By Ayras Nunes. In *As cem melhores poesias (liricas) da lingua portuguesa*, Escolhidas por Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos (London and Glasgow, 1910, price 6d.), will be found this *bailada de moças* in a second version, by Joham Zorro (C. da Vat., No. 761):

“ Bailemos, agora, por Deus, ay velidas
 So aquestas avelaneiras floridas !
 E quem for velida como nós velidas,
 E amigo amar,
 So aquestas avelaneiras floridas
 Virá bailar !

“ Bailemos agora, por Deus, ay louvadas
 So aquestas avelaneiras granadas !
 E quem for louvada como nós louvadas,
 E amigo amar,
 So aquestas avelaneiras granadas
 Virá bailar !”

Of this song Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos says: “ In doppelter Lesart vorhanden, als Werk zweier verschiedener Dichter, des hochbegabten Klerikers Ayras Nunes und des Volksbarden Joam Zorro, meiner Meinung nach, weil es ein echtes Volkslied ist, das beide gerade wegen seiner Ursprünglichkeit und Beliebtheit aufgelesen, und, nach höfischer weise, mit einem neuen som versehen haben.’

And she who's fair as fair are we
 If in love she likewise be,
 There beneath the hazel-trees
 Will join us in the dance.

While we have leisure let us dance
 Beneath this flowered branch together,
 And she who as we is fair to view
 If in love will come there too,
 And there beneath this hazel-bough
 Will join us in the dance.)

“ Poys nossas madres vam a Sam Simom
 De Val de Prados candeas queymar,
 Nós as meninhas punhamos d'andar
 Com nossas madres, s' ellas entom
 Queymen candeas por nós e por sy,
 E nós meninhas baylaremos hy.

“ Nossos amigos todos lá hiram
 Por nos veer, e andaremos nós
 Bayland' ant' eles fremosas sós,¹
 E nossas madres, poys que alá vam,
 Queymen candeas por nós e por sy,
 E nós meninhas baylaremos hy.

“ Nossos amigos hiram por cousir²
 Como baylamos e podem veer
 Baylar moças de bom parecer,
 E nossas madres, poys lá querem hir,
 Queymen candeas por nós e por sy,
 E nós meninhas baylaremos hy.”³

(Since to St. Simon our mothers now go
 In Val de Prados, candles to burn,

¹ Monaci has *haylaudan teles fŕmosas cos.*

² Ed. Th. Braga. It is tempting to write *consir* (as a further abbreviation of *consirar*, the early Portuguese word for "consider").

³ C. da Vat., No. 334. By Pero Gomes Barroso.

Let us their daughters set out in our turn
 And go with our mothers together, that so
 While candles for us and for them they are burning
 All we their daughters in dance shall be turning.

Then will our lovers come there together
 In order to see us their fair ones, and we
 Will dance there alone in their company,
 And still our mothers, since now they go thither,
 Candles for us and themselves shall be burning
 While in the dance we their daughters are turning.

Our lovers together will come to bestow
 On us and our dancing many a glance,
 They will come to watch the fair maidens dance,
 And still our mothers, since there they would go,
 Candles for us and themselves shall be burning
 While in the dance we their daughters are turning.)

Monaci speaks of Provençal imitations in Portugal not surviving their last protector, King Diniz, and Senhor Braga regards King Diniz (1279-1325) as behind his time in his love of Provençal poetry. The idea that he was the first Portuguese lyric poet was derived from a passage in the *Catalogo Real de España* by Rodrigo Mendez de Silva, quoted by Sanchez in commenting upon the Marqués de Santillana's reference to King Diniz: "Este rey . . . compuso los primeros versos en lingua portuguesa."¹ Thus Lope de Vega in *El Guante de Doña Blanca*, act ii., scene i, line 66:

"Que es, Blanca, si no lo sabes,
 El rei Dionis el primero
 Que en España en lengua propia

¹ In Barbosa, *Bibliotheca Lusitana* he is "o primeiro que em Hespanha á imitação dos poetas provençaes metrificou em rimas."

Hizo versos, cuya copia
Mostrarte esta noche quiero.”¹

The Portuguese chronicles, however, have a qualifying *quasi*: King Diniz was “grāde trouador & quasi o primeiro que na lingoa Portuguesa sabemos screuer versos, o que elle & os daquelle tēpo começarão fazer aa imitaçō dos Aruernos & prouençaes: segundo vimos per hū cancioneiro seu q̄ em Roma se achou, em tempo del rei Dom João III. [1521-1557] & por outro que sta na torre do tombo, de louuores da Virgem nossa senhora.”²

The *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* contains poems by no less than thirteen pre-Dionysian poets. Senhor Braga dates some twenty of the poets of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* before 1350 as being mentioned in the *Nobiliario* of the Conde Dom Pedro, and considers that the date of the earliest *trovador* mentioned in Portuguese genealogies goes back to the first half of the twelfth century. He refers the following poem in the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda* to the capture of Santarem in 1147:

“A mais fremosa de quantas vejo
Em Santarem e que mays desejo
E en que sempre cuidando sigo
Non cha direi mais direi comigo :
Ay sentirigo ! ay sentirigo !
Al e Alfanx e al seserigo.

“Ella e outra, amigo, vi as
Se deus me valha non a dous dias,

¹ Quoted by F. Diez and by Lang.

² *Chronicas dos Reis de Portugal. Em Lisboa. Impresso por Pedro Crasbeeck. Anno MDC.* (Chronica del Rei Dom Denis dos reis de Portugal o sexto. Reformada pelo licenciado Duarte Nunez do Liam.)

Non cha direi eu cá o dirias
 E perder-l' ias por en comigo.
 Ay sentirigo ! ay sentirigo !
 Al e Alfanx e al seserigo.

“Cuidand’ ella ja ey perdudo
 O sen, amigo, e ando mudo,
 E non sey ome tan intendudo
 Que m’ oj’ entenda o porque digo
 Ay sentirigo ! ay sentirigo !
 Al e Alfanx e al seserigo.”

Senhor Braga thinks that the refrain may be an old battle-cry, and that the singer is an aged knight who took part in the siege of 1147, and laments that none of his contemporaries are now left to understand him. But the whole of the poem, except the refrain, points to a later date, and the lines

“E non sey ome tan intendudo
 Que m’ oj’ entenda”

may more probably be taken as in themselves a confession that the singer belongs to a later age than the old refrain. M. Alfred Jeanroy holds that there was no Portuguese poetry before the thirteenth century, and that the earliest is a poem of the year 1236.¹ It is certain that the flourishing period of Provençal-Portuguese poetry began with the return of Affonso III. (1246-1279) from a long sojourn at the Court of France to usurp his brother’s² throne in Portugal, and continued during his reign and that of King Diniz. King Affonso had three official (salaried) *trovadores* at his Court.³ His

¹ *Les Origines de la Poésie lyrique en France au moyen-âge.*

² Sancho III., 1223-1248.

³ *El Rey aia trez jograres em sa casa e nom mais.* (*Portugaliae Monumenta Historica.*) The Court was at Lisbon and Santarem.

son Diniz¹ was given a master of Provençal poetry, Aymeric d'Ebrard, of Cahors, afterwards Bishop of Coimbra. For the last fourteen years of his reign Affonso III. was bedridden (*jazia en huma cama, nom se podia levantar*), and Diniz early had to take a part in affairs of State. While still a child he was sent to Seville to negotiate with his grandfather, King Alfonso the Learned, concerning the sovereignty of the Algarve, recently conquered from the Moors. Senhor Braga quotes a romance :

“ O infante Dom Diniz
A Sevilha havia chegado . . .
De edade era pequeno
Mal quinze annos tem contado.”²

King Diniz married Isabel, daughter of King Pedro III. of Aragon, and niece of the Count of Provence, the Saint Elizabeth of the legend of roses. The chronicle says of him that “among all the kings then in Christendom the King Dom Denis was known as the most humane and benignant, being very valiant and magnanimous; and for his truth, justice and liberality.³—He never promised aught that he did not perform, nor broke his pledge, nor issued two contradictory decrees.—Against malefactors he exercised severity, so that one might travel securely in his time, which before was not

¹ Born at Lisbon in 1261.

² Sepulveda, *Romances*. Anvers, 1551. Cf. the charming account of this episode in the *Chronica del Rei Dom Denis*: “Era o Infante entam de vi annos, mui gentilhome & ausado pera aquella idade . . . dizen algūas historias antigas de Castella que o Infante Dom Denis, como quem ja naqlla tenra idade começaua ser util a seu reino, chorou n'o mesmo conselho.”

³ There was a saying, “ Liberal como hum Dom Denis.”

possible, because the roads were infested by robbers.—He broke up and cultivated much land and greatly favoured the peasants (*lauradores*), whom he called the nerves of the commonwealth.¹ Wherefore in his time there were fewer poor, and being the King who gave most, he was also the King who left most in the treasury.—He built towns and castles, fortresses and convents through the length and breadth of Portugal, and he made many just and advantageous laws.²—And in order that letters might not flourish less than arms in his kingdom, at a time when they were at so low an ebb in Spain (*andauão tam apagadas*), he instituted anew the University of Coimbra and brought to it learned foreigners to teach all manner of learning.—Besides these great virtues, the King Dom Denis had another, for which he was greatly loved by his subjects, in that he was very humane and accessible (*conuersael*) without losing anything of the majesty of a king. He planted pine-woods, built ships, and generally reorganized the life of the Portuguese nation.

An old inscription (1314) records proudly that

“ Esta fez el rei Diniz
Que acabou tudo o que quiz.”

He found time to write many poems—138 out of 1,700 early lyrics are attributed to him. Senhor Braga cites the following lines from one of his poems as proof that he never forgets that he is a king :

¹ He was himself known as *O Lavrador*.

² Among others, “ That innkeepers (*a taverneira*), bakers (*a padeira*), and butchers should be believed on their oath concerning what is owing to them ”; “ of those who play with false or loaded dice ”; “ of those who find birds and do not restore them [to their owners] ”; “ of those who deny God and His saints. ”

“Uma verdade vos direi:
Se mi valha nosso senhor
Era des boa para rey.”

But it is probable that this and some other poems attributed to the King were not written by him. Like other Portuguese Kings he made a collection of lyrics which was known as the book of *trovas* of King Diniz,¹ and the tendency would be to attribute to him any of uncertain authorship. King Diniz openly writes in the Provençal style:

“Quer’ eu en maneyra de provençal
Fazer agora um cantar d’amor,”

although he claims to put new and deeper feeling into the conventional forms :

“Provençaes soem mui bem trobar
E dizer elles que é com amor,
Mays os que trobam no tempo da frol
E nom em outro, sey eu bem que nom
Am tam gram coyta no seu coraçom
Qual m’ eu por mha senhor vejo levar.”

But however skilfully and musically King Diniz may sing in the Provençal manner,² he also cultivated with

¹ Among the books possessed by King Duarte were *O Livro das Trovas d’El Rei Dom Diniz*, *O Livro das Trovas d’El Rei Dom Affonso*, and *O Livro das Trovas d’El Rei [Duarte]*.

² The following examples may be given :

“Hun tal home sey eu, o bem talhada,
Que por vos tem a sa morte chegada;
Veedes quem é, seed’ em nembrada:
Eu, mha dona.

“Hun tal home sei eu que perto sente*
De si a morte chegada certamente;

* Ed. Lang. Monaci: *q’ p’co* or *p’co sente*. Braga: *per consente*.
Moura: *preto*.

evident delight the more indigenous Galician-Portuguese poetry, and it is with an added pleasure that one reaches in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* the section headed: *Em esta ffolha adeante sse comēçā as cātigas d'amigo q̄ o mui r̄pbre Dom Denis, rei de Portugal, ffez.* (From this page

Veedes quem é, venha-vos em mente:
Eu, mha dona.

“ Hun tal home sey eu, aquest' oide,
Que por vos morre, vo-lo em partide;
Veedes quem é, nom xe vos olvide:
Eu, mha dona.”

(A man know I, fair one, who for you has his death at hand. See who it is and remember. I, my lady. A man know I who feels assuredly that his death is near. See who it is and call to mind. I, my lady. A man know I who for you is dying. Listen and I will tell you. See who it is and forget not. I, my lady.)

“ Senhor fremosa, vejo-vos queixar
Porque vos am' e no meu coraçom
Ey mui gram pesar, se deos me perdon',
Porque vej' end' a vos aver pesar,
E queria m' em de grado quytar
Mais nom posso forçar o coraçom.

“ Que mi forçou meu saber e meu sen,
Desi meteu-me no vosso poder,
E do pesar que vos eu vej' aver
Par deus, senhor, a mim pesa muit 'em,
E partir-m' ia de vos querer bem
Mais tolhe m'end' o coraçom poder.

“ Que me forçou de tal guisa, senhor,
Que sen nem força non ei já de mi,
E do pesar que vos tomades i
Tom' eu pesar que non posso mayor ;
E queria nom vos aver amor
Mais o coraçom pode mais ca mi.”

(C. da Vat., No. 146. Fair lady, I see you complain because I love you, and in my heart I greatly grieve, so Heaven pardon me, because I see that you are grieved at this, and willingly would I cease to love,

forth begin the *cantigas de amigo*, which the very respectable Dom Denis, King of Portugal, made.)¹

With the death of King Diniz in 1325 the Portuguese-Provençal poetry came somewhat abruptly to an end, surviving in isolated instances, and perhaps rather in the influence of the satirical Provençal *sirventes*, which were well suited to the Portuguese love of satire. The *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* contains "cantigas de escarnh' e de mal dizer," such as that written by Martim Soares with the note: "This other satirical song he made on a knight who thought that he wrote very well and composed excellent lyrics, and it was

but I cannot constrain my heart thereto. For my heart constrained my mind and wit, and placed me in your power; and for the grief I see you have, 'fore Heaven, lady, do I greatly grieve, and would put off my love, but my heart has left me powerless so to do. For, lady, it constrained me in such wise that now I have neither force nor wit, and for the grief this gives to you I could not be more greatly grieved; and I would cease to love you, but my heart is stronger than I.)

¹ Besides the examples already given, the following may be quoted:

" Nom chegou, madr', o meu amigo
E oj' est o prazo saido,
Ai madre, moiro d'amor !

" Nom chegou, madr', o meu amado
E oj' est o prazo passado,
Ai madre, moiro d'amor !

" E oj' est o prazo saido
Por que mentio o desmentido,
Ai madre, moiro d'amor !

" E oj' est o prazo passado
Por que mentio o perjurado,
Ai madre, moiro d'amor !

" Porque mentio o desmentido
Pesa-mi pois per si é falido,
Ai madre, moiro d'amor !

not so."¹ Garcia de Resende in the preface to his *Cancioneiro geral* [1516]² says that the *arte de trovar* has

" Porque mentio o perjurado
Pesa-mi pois mentio per seu grado.
Ai madre, moiro d'amor!"

(*C. da Vat.*, No. 169. My love has not come, and to-day is the last day. Mother, I am dying of love! He lied to me, and it grieves me that he is false. Mother, I am dying of love !)

" Amad' é meu amigo
Valha Deus!
Vede-la frol do pinho
E guisade d'andar.

" Amad' é meu amado
Valha Deus!
Vede-la frol do ramo
E guisade d'andar.

" Vede-la frol do pinho
Valha Deus!
Selad' o bayosinho *
E guisade d'andar.

" Vede-la frol do ramo
Valha Deus!
Selad' o bel cavalo
E guisade d'andar.

" Selad' o bayosinho
Valha Deus!
Treide-vos, ai amigo,
E guisade d'andar.

¹ *C. da Vat.*, No. 965. "Est' outro cantar fez de mal dizer a hun cavaleyro que cuydava que trovava muy ben e que fazia muy bons sons, e non era assy."

² An edition was published by E. K. von Kausler in vol. xv., xvii., and xxvi. of the *Bibliothek des literarischen Vereins* of Stuttgart. A new edition is being published at Coimbra in 4 vols. (*Joias litterarias*). The 1516 edition of the Lisbon *Biblioteca Nacional* gives no date on

* Braga : *bayoninho*; Monaci: *hayo rinho* (in 1875, in correction of *ninho* in *Canti antichi portoghesi*, 1873). A. Coelho proposed *bayosinho*.

always been held in great esteem, and speaks of its usefulness in hymns and canticles, in preserving the history of Emperors and Kings, in Court society, love-making, tournaments, and masks, and also for the punishment of those who deserve it.¹

“ Selad’ o bel cavallo
Valha Deus !
Treide-vos, ai amigo,
E guisade d’andar.”

(C. da Vat., No. 173. Loved is my friend—Be with me, Heaven!—See the flower of the pine and make ready to go. Loved is my love—Be with me, Heaven!—See the branch in flower and make ready to go. See the flower of the pine—Be with me, Heaven!—Saddle the little bay and make ready to go. See the branch in flower—Be with me, Heaven!—Saddle the fair horse and make ready to go. Saddle the little bay—Be with me, Heaven!—Hasten, O my friend, and make ready to go. Saddle the fair horse—Be with me, Heaven!—Hasten, O my friend, and make ready to go.)

the title-page, but has the following colophon: “Acabousse de empreemyr o cancyoneyro geerall. Com preuilegio do muyto alto & muyto poderoso Rey dom Manuell nosso senhor. Que nenhúa pessoa o possa empremir nẽ troua que nelle vaa sob pena de dozentos cruzads e mais perder todollos volumes que fizer. Nem menos o poderam trazer de fora do reyno a vender ahynda q̄ la fosse feito so a mesma pena atras escrita. Foy ordenado & remendado por Garcia de Reesende fidalguo da casa del Rey nosso senhor & escrivam da fazenda do principe Começouse emalmeyrym & acabou ena muyto nobre & sempre leall çidade de Lisboa. Per Hermã de cãpos alemã bôbardeyro del rey nosso senhor & empremjor. Aos xxviii dias de setêbre da era de nosso senhor Jesucristo de mil & quynhem & Xvi anos.”

¹ “Que em todo tēpo foy muy estimada [a arte de trouar] e com ela nosso senhor louuado como nos hynos & canticos que na santa ygreja se cantam sse veraa. E assy muitos emperadores Reys & pessoas de memoria. Polos rrymançes & trouas sabemos suas estorias & nas cortes dos grandes principes he muy necessaria na jentileza, amores, justas & momos, & tambem para os que maos trajos v enuenções fazem. Per trouas sam castigados.” The whole preface, in the Spanish translation by Juan Valera, is printed in Menéndez y Pelayo’s *Antología de poetas líricos castellanos*, tom. 7, pp. cli-cliii.

A Spanish minstrel, Joham *jograr, morador em Leom*, sang the praises of King Diniz, and he says that the *trobadores* in Portugal, León, Castille, and Aragon never sang again after his death, and that the *jograes* remained unpaid :

“ Os namorados que trobam d'amor
 Todos deviam gram doo fazer
 Et non tomar em si nenhum prazer
 Porque perderom tam boo senhor
 Com' é el rey dom denis de portugal.
 De que nom pode dezir nenhum mal
 Homem pero seja profaçador.¹
 Os trobadores que poys ficarom
 Em o seu reyno et no de Leom
 No de Castella, no d'Aragom
 Nunca poys de sa morte trobarom ;
 E dos jograres vos quero dizer
 Nunca cobraram panos nem aver
 Et o seu bem muyto desejarom . . .
 tam boo senhor
 De que eu posso en bem dizer sem pavor
 Que nom ficou d'al nos Christãos . . .
 foy rey a fame prestador
 Et saboroso e d'amor trobador.
 Tod' o seu bem dizer nom poderey.”²

And King Diniz later was universally praised in glowing tributes.³ If he was a belated protector

¹ *Homē po seiā pos fazador.* Monaci.

² C. da Vat., No. 708.

³ Pedro Andrade de Caminha speaks of “ Dinis grande ” (*Epist.* 3). In Sá de Miranda he is

“ em guerra e em paz
 Honra das armas, honra dos costumes ” (*Eleg.* 3).

And

“ nosso alto e excellente
 Dom Denis, rei tam louvado
 Tam justo, a Deus tam temente ” (*Epist.* 1).

of Provençal poetry, he was also a keen admirer of the indigenous *cantiga de amigo*, one of the most fresh and charming forms of lyric to be found in any literature.

It is thought that the *livro de cantigas* bequeathed by the illegitimate son of King Diniz, Pedro, Conde de Barcellos, to the King of Castille, Alfonso XI. (who, however, died five years before him) in 1350 may possibly somehow have come into the possession of Doña Mencía de Cisneros. The passage in the Marqués de Santillana's letter, quoted above, continues: "I remember, very magnificent sir, as a small boy, to have seen, among other books in the possession of my grandmother, Doña Mencía de Cisneros, a large volume of Portuguese and Galician songs, *serranas*, and *decires*, of which the greater part were by the King Don Dionis of Portugal. He was, sir, I believe, your great-grandfather; and those who read his works praised them for their subtle inventions and soft and graceful words."¹ King Duarte (1428-1438) possessed

In his Eclogue *Basto* he refers to Kings Sancho and Diniz:

"Aos bons reis Sancho e Denis
Chamavão lhes lavradores."

João de Barros writes of him as

"O justo Diniz, tão nobre e clemente
. . . em todalas couzas sabido e prudente."

Cf. Camões, *Lusiads*, iii. 96-98.

¹ "Acuerdome, Señor muy magnifico, siendo yo en edat no proyecta, mas asaz mozo pequeño, en poder de mi abuela Doña Mencia de Cisneros entre otros libros aver visto un grant volumen de cantigas, serranas è decires Portuguezes è Gallegos: de los quales la mayor parte eran del Rey Don Dionis de Portugal: creo, Señor, fue vuestro bisabuelo: cuyas obras aquellos que las leian loaban de invenciones sutiles è de graciosas è dulces palabras."

a *Livro das Trovas de El Rei Dom Diniz*, and Duarte Nunes refers to a *cancioneiro* of King Diniz which was discovered at Rome during the reign of João III. (1521-1557).¹ Angelo Colocci possessed an earlier and larger collection of Portuguese lyrics than the two now known,² and compiled a catalogue, which has survived and was published (from the Vatican Codex 3217) as an appendix in Monaci's edition of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*. In 1823 Charles Stuart (afterwards Lord Stuart of Rothesay)³ had published fragments of a Portuguese *cancioneiro* in an edition limited to twenty-five copies.⁴ In 1847 appeared a first edition of the *cancioneiro* of King Diniz (*Cancioneiro da*

¹ Some think that Sá de Miranda may have seen the *cancioneiro* of King Diniz during his stay at Rome, and may refer to it directly (rather than more vaguely to Provençal poetry) in the lines of his letter to Fernando de Menezes :

"Eu digo os provençais que inda se sente
O som das brandas rimas que entoárão."

² I.e., the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* and the *Cancioneiro Colocci-Brancuti*, a codex formerly belonging to Count Brancuti and copied for Angelo Colocci (d. 1548) in the sixteenth century. (See Enrico Molteni. *Il Canzoniere Portoghese Colocci-Brancuti*. Halle, 1880.)

³ Inaccurately named "Lord Carlos Stuart Rothsoy" by Senhor Braga, and by Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos "Lord Stuart Rothsey."

⁴ "Fragmentos de hum *Cancioneiro inedito* que se acha na livraria do Real Collegio dos Nobres de Lisboa. Impresso a custa de Carlos Stuart. Paris, 1823. This is the *Cancioneiro da Ajuda*, which formerly belonged to the Jesuits and later to the Collegio dos Nobres, whence it was transferred in 1825 to the royal palace of Ajuda. A second, but not very valuable, edition was published by the Brazilian, F. A. Varnhagen : *Trovas e Cantares de un Codice do Seculo XIV.*, ou antes mui provavelmente o *Livro das Cantigas do Conde de Barcellos*. Madrid, 1849.

Vaticana), discovered at Rome by Wolf (Codex 4803), and copied by the Visconde da Carreira, with a preface by the Brazilian Caetano Lopes de Moura,¹ followed in 1872 by Varnhagen's *Cancioneirinho de Trovas antigas colligidas de um grande cancioneiro da Biblioteca do Vaticano. Vienna, 1872.* In the following year, and again in 1875, Ernesto Monaci published some selections from the Vatican codex.² In 1875 he also published his excellent complete edition of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, copied with every detail of the many minute differences due to the fact that over a hundred authors of different countries and periods had contributed to the collection.³ "Questa edizione," he says in his preface, "rappresenta il codice pagina per pagina, linea per linea, abbreviatura per abbreviatura." Working upon this text Senhor Braga produced his critical edition three years later.⁴ Thus gradually the poems of King Diniz and his contemporaries were brought to the light of day, and a new and delightful world of Portuguese

¹ *Cancioneiro de El Rei D. Diniz*, pela primeira vez impresso sobre o manuscrito da Vaticana, com algumas notas illustrativas e uma prefacção historico-litteraria pelo Dr. Caetano Lopes de Moura. *Paris: Aillaud, 1847.*

² *Canti Antichi Portoghesi* tratti dal codice Vaticano 4803, con traduzioni e note per Ernesto Monaci. *Imola, 1873.*

Cantos de ledino tratti dal grande canzoniere portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana per Ernesto Monaci. *Halle a. S., 1875.*

³ *Il Canzoniere Portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana*, messo a stampa da Ernesto Monaci. Con una prefazione, con facsimili e con altre illustrazioni. *Halle a. S., 1875.*

⁴ *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*. Edição critica restituída sobre o texto de Halle, acompanhada de um glossario e de uma introducção sobre os trovadores e cancioneiros portuguezes. Por Theophilo Braga. *Lisboa, 1878.*

literature was rediscovered. A fuller and more critical reconstruction of the whole body of early Portuguese lyrics is, however, still required.¹

¹ Of the 1878 (Lisbon) edition Senhora Michaëlis de Vasconcellos remarks that it "entspricht kritischen Anforderungen nicht ganz, erstens weil sie nur den Inhalt *eines* Liederbuchs bringt und zweitens weil die Textgestaltung eine vielfach willkürliche, ungleiche und sinnlose ist."

CHAPTER II

EARLY PROSE

The first beginnings of Portuguese prose must be looked for in the fourteenth century, in genealogies, chronicles, and lives of saints. In the reign of João I. (1385-1433) Portuguese finally ousted Latin in official documents,¹ but it had already established itself securely fifty years before his accession. Unfortunately, most of the early chronicles have only survived in the re-

¹ As an example of Latin through which Portuguese already pierces may be given the following passage from an edict of Affonso III. (1246-1279): “Item quod calumnie de ipsa villa de Gaia sint tales et de terminis suis scilicet quod omnis homo qui sacaverit cultellum in Gaia extra casam per mentem malam pro dare cum eo alicui, sive det sive non det mando quod pectet maiordomo sexaginta solidos si sibi hoc maiordomus potuerit probare per bonos homines, et licet det multa vulnera cum eo alicui, si homo de eis non fuerit mortuus, mando quod non pectet maiordomo magis quam dictos 60 solidos.” The following is from a letter of King Diniz (1279-1325): “Quod naves et universe barce magne et parve que de mari cum mercis seu aliis rebus venalibus intrarent per faucem Dorii ripis venirent, merces seu venales adportantes, dividerentur inter civitatem [Oporto] et populum antedictum [Gaia].” In the reign of Manoel I. (1495-1521) complaints were made that the doctors wrote their recipes in Latin. An entertaining account exists of the concessions granted to the people in Cortes. They asked to be relieved of certain taxes, to which the answer was that the taxes were levied for the people’s good. They besought the King to diminish his large and costly retinue, but were told that this was impossible. When, however, they asked that the physicians should

visions of Duarte Nunes¹ and others. Some of the earliest fragments are printed in *Portugaliæ Monumenta Historica* (vol. i., Scriptores). From these *Chronicas Breves* may be quoted the dying advice of the Count Dom Anrriques [Henriques] (to whom Alfonso VI. had given a part of Galicia and so much of Portugal as had been won from the "sarraziis"—*parte de galiza com o que era gaanhado de portugal*) to his son :

"Filho, toma esfforço no meu coraçom, toda terra que eu leixo que he dastorga ataa leom e ataa coinbra nom percas della nenhuma cousa ca eu a tomei com muito trabalho: filho toma esfforço no meu coraçom e sey semelhuel a mim . . . E poren, meu filho, sempre en teu coraçom ama justiça ca o dia que a leixares de fazer huum palmo logo o outro dia ella affastara de ty huma braça."

(Son, take heart from me, all the land that I leave, which is from Astorga to León and to Coimbra, lose not any part of it, for I won it with great toil : son, take heart from me and be like to me . . . and moreover, my son, ever in thy heart love justice, for on the day that thou ceasest from it an inch straightway it will depart from thee an ell.)

Or the account of King Diniz :

"Morto el rei dom afonso reinou el Rey dom donis

make up their prescriptions only in the vulgar tongue, *em lingoagem*, the permission was most graciously granted: "Assi quomo nollo pedis volo outorgamos cõ peña ao boticario que não use mais ho officio se der has mezinhas per recepta em latim, & mais pague douz mil reaes pera quẽ ho accusar & em outra tanta peña queremos que encorra ho physico q̄ per latim & não per lingoagem quomo dito he." *Chronica do felicissimo Rey Dom Emanuel da gloriosa memoria.* . . . Damião de goes collegio & compos de nouo." [Lisbon, 1619.]

¹ Almeida-Garrett calls him the "iconoclast of our ancient chronicles."

seu filho e auia quando conpeçou a reinar xviii annos. E cassou coma rainha dona issabel filha del Rey dom pedro daragam . . . Este Rey dom donis reynou em portugal quorenta e cinquo annos."

The language is similar to that of the *Livro das Linhagens* compiled by Pedro, Conde de Barcellos (1289-1354), son of King Diniz. The genealogies embrace those of Adam and Alexander, Priam, Julius Cæsar, King Arthur of England. With pithy brevity the characters and reigns of the Portuguese Kings are related, of Alfonso II., "que foy muy boo christaõ no começo mais na çima foi peor"; of King Diniz who "foy muy boo rrey e de gram justiça e muy boo cristaõ e fez muito por a santa egreia."¹ The preface is a fine piece of Portuguese prose:

"Em nome de Deus que he fonte e padre damor e por que este amor nom sofre nenhuma cousa de mall porém em seruillo de coraçom he carreyra rreal e nenhum melhor seruiço nom pode o homem fazer que amalo de todo seu sem e seu proximo como ssi meesmo porque este precepto he ho que Deus deu a Moyses na vedra ley. Porém eu comde dom Pedro filho do muy nobre rrey dom Denis ouue de catar por gram trabalho por muitas terras escripturas que fallauam das linhageens. E veemdo as escripturas com grande estudo e em como fallauam doutros grandes feitos compuge este liuro por gaanhar o seu amor e por meter amor e amizade antre os nobres e fidallgos de Espanha."

¹ Of the war with his son Afonso the *Livro das linhagens* gives the following account: "El rey dom denis soube que jazia sobre a villa de guimaraes e ell veosse deytar sobre coymbra. E chegou hi o primeiro dia de março em coreesma, e fez muito estrago e o arrualde todo foi estragado, e derribarom as casas e filharom muito pam e muito vinho e muito azeite e danarom todo o campo que era semeado de pam nouo e cortarom todos os oliuares tambem d'aaquem como d'aalem."

(In the name of God, who is fountain and father of love, and because this love suffers no evil, and to serve Him from the heart is a kingly task, and man can do no better service than to love Him with all his mind and his neighbour as himself, for this precept gave God to Moses in the old law. Therefore I, Count Dom Pedro, son of the very noble King Dom Denis, with great toil sought in many lands for writings which spoke of descents. And considering these writings with much study, and how they spoke of other great deeds, I composed this book to gain his love and to set love and friendship among the nobles and knights of Spain.)

Some three-quarters of a century after *O Livro das Linhagens* King Duarte wrote *O Leal Conselheiro*, a masterpiece of Portuguese prose. In the style of both works there is a clearness and precision which show that, in the hands of a skilled craftsman, Portuguese should not be so immeasurably inferior to Castilian as it too often is. The Visconde de Santarem in his introduction to the first edition¹ wrote that it was "the oldest monument of our language that we have as a complete work." Since it was written "at the request of the very excellent Queen Dona Leonor

¹ From the Codex 7007, discovered in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris some years previously: "*Leal Conselheiro*, o qual fez Dom Eduarte, Pela graça de Deos Rei de Portugal e do Algarve e Senhor de Ceuta, a requerimento da muito excellente Rainha Dona Leonor sua molher, seguido do Livro da Ensinança de bem cavalgar toda sella, que fez o mesmo Rei, o qual começou em sendo Infante, precedido d'uma introdução, illustrado com varias notas e publicado debaixo dos auspicios do Excellentissimo Senhor Visconde de Santarem. Paris: Aillaud, 1842."

his wife," whom he married in 1428,¹ and since King Duarte died in 1438, the approximate date of the work is fixed. It was, says the King, all written with his own hand (*de minha maão foy todo primeiro escripto*). In the preface addressed to the Queen he makes excuses for the style "since I was minded rather to set forth the matter of my writing clearly than to write it in a beautiful and careful manner." But although he speaks elsewhere of "my poor way of writing (*esta mynguada maneira de meu screver*)," he in fact was at great pains to write well, and produced a work fascinating alike in its matter and its style, and a precious mine for those Portuguese authors who would free their writing from Gallicisms and abstract verbiage. In Chapter xcviij he reveals the secret of his art,² a chapter "written by me for my guidance (*para meu avysamento*)," (Chap. xc):

" Da maneira para bem tornar algúia leytura em nossa lynguagem. Primeiro conhecer bem a sentença do que a de tornar e poella enteiramente, nom mudando, acrecentando, nem mynguando algúia cousa do que esta scripto. O segundo que nom ponha pallavras latidianas nem doutra lynguagem, mas todo seja em nossa lynguagem scripto, mais achegadamente ao geeral boo custume³ de nosso fallar que se poder fazer. O terceiro que sempre se ponham pallavras que sejam dereita lynguagem respondendo ao latym, nom mudando hūas per

¹ It also refers to Henry V. of England as dead (d. 1422): "The very excellent King Henry of England, my cousin, *que Deus aja*."

² Cf. also his remark, "E nom screvo esto por maneira scollastica." Cf. Ruy de Pina, who says that King Duarte was "amador de sciencia, de que teve grande conhecimento, e nom per discurso d'Escollas mas per continuar d'estudar e leer per boõs livros."

³ Souza (*Provas da Historia Genealogica*), who copied this chapter, has *ao chão e geral custume* (the plain general custom).

outras, assy que onde el desser per latym scorregar non ponha afastar, e assy em outras semelhantes, entendendo que tanto monta húa como a outra, porque grande deferença faz pera se bem entender seerem estas pallavras propriamente scriptas. O quarto que nom ponha pallavras que segundo o nosso custume de fallar sejam avydas per dishonestas. O quynتو que guarde aquella ordem que igualmente deve guardar em qualquer outra cousa que se escrever deva, scilicet, que se screvam couzas de boa sustancia claramente pera se bem poder entender, e fremoso o mais que elle poder, e curtamente quanto for necessario, e pera esto aproveita muyto paragraphos, e apontar bem."

(Of the way well to translate any passage into our language. First, well to understand the sentence to be translated and to give it whole, not changing nor adding nor omitting anything that is written. Secondly, not to give words of Latin or other language, but to write it all in our language, following as closely as may be the general good custom of our speech. Thirdly, always to give words answering precisely to the Latin, not changing one for other, as where the Latin says "to separate" not to write "to part," and so in similar cases, thinking that it is all one, for it makes great difference for a good understanding of the sense that these words should be properly given. Fourthly, not to give words which in our custom of speech are held to be disreputable. Fifthly, to keep that rule which should likewise be observed in any other writing—that is, to write matters of a good substance, clearly, that they may be understood well, and as beautifully as may be, and as briefly as may be required, and for this paragraphs and a good punctuation are a great help.)

How successful he was in carrying out his own precepts is shown throughout the book, and may be seen, for instance, in his translation of St. Matthew vi. 24 :

“ Nom podees servyr a Deus e ao mamona, porem eu vos digo que nom sejaaes sollamente cuydosos em vossas almas por o que avees de comer, nem pera o vosso corpo que avees de vistir, certamente a alma mais he que manjar e o corpo mais que vestidura. Olhaae as aves do ceeo que nom semeam nem colhem nem ajuntam em celleiros, e nosso padre celestrial as governa ; vos mais e melhores sooes que ellas, qual de vos outros assy cuydosos pode acrecentar em sua grandeza huū covado, e das vestiduras porque sempre cuidaaes ? Consiiraae os lileos do campo como crecem, nom trabalham nem colhem ; eu vos digo que nem Sallamon em toda sua gloria he coberto assy como huū destes. Se o feno do campo, que hoje he e de manhã no forno he posto, Deus assy a este, quanto mais a vos fara de pouca fe ? Nom queiraaes porem seer contynuadamente cuydosos, dizendo, que comere-mos ou que beveremos, ou de que nos cobriremos, todas estas cousas gentes demandam. Certamente nosso padre sabe que as avees mester, buscaae porem primeiro o reyno de Deos e a sua justiça sempre, e todas estas cousas vos serom acrecentadas.”

King Duarte shows great care and skill in distinguishing shades of meaning by use of the corresponding word,¹ avoiding what he calls *desvairo de vocablos*, and it is noticeable in this respect that he more than once mentions the *heticas d'Aristotilles*. His thought is so subtly expressed in thin, clear sentences that these

¹ Thus in one chapter occur the following varieties of sloth : *occiosidade, priguyça, negrigencia, envelhentamento, leixamento, langor, mingua, pesume, empachamento, empacho, desleixado, tardynheiro, froxo.*